R 95
THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

The Christian Socialist

VOL. II. No. 17. DANVILLE, ILLINOIS, SEPTEMBER 1, 1905. Whole No. 33.

THE HOMELESS POOR

BY EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ

By day I hear the stifled breathing of the poor.
By night their stunted lives press on my soul.
Awake, asleep, I sense their miseries lacking cure,
And cry to God to gain for me this goal:
O God of Love, of Brotherhood,
I tread wherever these have stood;
I shun no suffering they endure—
For, God, Love's God, I'd find the cure.

Homeless, oppressed, and passing to a welcomed grave.
Hopeless, debarred till stunted senses die.
Born where his birth-breath e'er debars his being brave
Enough to battle, hear his base reply:
"Give me but work to earn my wage,
I will restrain my righteous rage.
For the belly food, for lust its mate—
Rule ye, my lords, in royal state."

Can he be blamed whose birthright was such brutal things?
Should he be shamed? shut out from sea and sky,—
God's ministers to raise the soul,—supplying wings
And sight to faith. Can such stunned souls espy
The hills of God, the great desire?
We call in vain, "Aspire, aspire"—
Break we his bonds, bear him on high
With hands of justice. Hark! I cry.

"Why look for a *soul* where e'en my warped flesh and diseased
Bears witness to my toil-worn, prisoned state?
Why look for kindness, brotherhood and love? Ye seized
The ennobling things,—I came too late, too late."
Great God, the terror of his *truth!*
When he awakes shall he find ruth
Restraining him from vengeance vast
As are his injuries, not past?

Shame, shame my soul, for every ease of slothful life.
Shame, shame, my flesh, for fattening on his toil.
If *one* be homeless, hungry, hell shall forge the strife
Between the dispossessed and me embroil.
Shall heaven prevent the payment full?
Or God transform him merciful
Whom we have battened with the brute
And pushed to hell in work's pursuit?

My God, my God! give me to turn his righteous wrath
To something nobler than these lives of ours.
The death that is our due would bring its aftermath
Of more debasement. O ye righteous Powers!
Love lives in *him;* let it illume.
O dispossessed! this day has gloom;
But ye are many, may attain
The uttermost *if hate be slain.*

At The Live Oaks, Turnersville, Texas.

WHY CHRISTIANS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

BY REV. W. T. WITHROW

Why should Christians be Socialists?

First of all, because no one can be a Christian at all in the practical sense and not be a Socialist. To be a mere theoretical Christian is not to be a Christian at all. Fundamentally, Socialism is, as Prof. Ely has so aptly put it, "simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to everyday life."

Socialism means equity and justice in all human relations. Certainly Christianity can mean no less. If it does mean less, then Socialism stands upon a higher ethical plane than Christianity does, and it is, therefore, clearly the duty of all true Christians to come up to the higher ground of Socialism. But it does not mean less.

"The ethics of Socialism and Christianity are identical." (Encyclopedia Brittannica.) They stand upon the same foundation (righteousness) and seek the same good (justice). There can, therefore, be no quarrel between Socialism and Christianity. Instead, they should work together in perfect harmony for the attainment of their common object—the redemption of the human race.

Christians should be Socialists, because the Christianization of the world under existing conditions is an impossibility and because Socialism furnishes the only ground upon which Christianity can be made practicable. That practical Christianity is not possible under existing conditions is a fact now freely admitted by all thinking and intelligent people, especially the leaders in the Christian world.

About a year and a half ago the writer of this article replied at length through the Kansas City Star to a sermon by one of the leading pastors of Kansas City, Mo., in which the reverend gentleman stated in most emphatic terms that the Golden Rule was impracticable and its practice impossible. If the reverend gentleman spoke truly—and he did—then there can be but one position for Christians to assume in the premises, and that position must be for the abolition of a system under which the teachings of Christ are practically annulled and the adoption of a system under which the law of Christ, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," could be obeyed. The law of Christ requires that men should love their neighbors as themselves. The law of Mammon (which is the law of business as we know it) compels them to fight and war against each other and destroy each other in the fierce struggle for existence, and all life resolves itself into a long-drawn, bloody and relentless warfare in which only a few, and they only of the strongest, can win.

That this is the condition of the world today no intelligent and observant Christian will deny. That such a condition is in harmony with the teachings and spirit of Christ no Christian will dare affirm.

What is the church and what is Christianity going to do about it? Will the teaching of religion alone remedy this condition? Most assuredly not.

For twenty centuries the church has preached and prayed and exhorted and sung psalms and builded palaces for worship and formed splendid organizations, but ignored the great problems of human existence in this world and left their solution to the politicians, demagogues and grafters.

The result has been disastrous, not only to the interests of society in general, but to the cause of true religion as well. The indifference of the church to these great present day problems has worked its own undoing. Slowly, but surely, the church is losing its hold on the masses and the masses are losing their confidence in and reverence for the church because it fails to recognize and grapple with these vital questions.

The time has come when the church, if it is going to survive at all, must change its tactics. It must recognize the fact that religion has at least as much to do with this world as it has with any other world, and that the betterment of social conditions in this world is a matter of as vital concern to the church as is the preparation of the soul for another world. In fact, religion as taught in the Bible concerns itself primarily with this world and its affairs.

The Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, and, in fact, the general trend of the Scriptures as a whole abundantly sustain this contention. The future, whatever it is, will be simply the result of the present. "As we sow, so shall we reap."

Does it not stand to reason that people will be better Christians, that they will be kinder, more loving, more brotherly, more just, more God-like, if they were delivered from the pangs of galling poverty, given equality of opportunity and the full product of their labor, so that they need no longer fight and devour each other like fierce wild beasts of prey? It would certainly seem so.

Then, indeed, would be realized the ideal of Jesus, the brotherhood of man. Then we could begin to understand what Jesus meant when He taught His disciples to pray, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth."

This is the goal for which Socialism strives. It is also the goal for which Christianity strives. If this is wrong, then the church is wrong and should reform. If it is right, the church already stands committed to it and can, therefore, have nothing to say against Socialism, but on the contrary is under the most sacred obligation to join heart and hand with the Socialists in this world-wide battle for the emancipation of humanity from Mammon's cruel reign.

"Then to side with truth is noble,
When we share her wretched crust,
'Ere her cause bring fame and profit,
And 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
While the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit,
Till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue,
Of the faith they had denied."

THE SOCIALISM OF JESUS

BY DISCIPULUS

VIII. The Status to Come

The movement inaugurated under these conditions was expected by Jesus to progress to a certain definite end, and this end was to be a world-wide status, called by him, *"the kingdom of God,"* or *"the kingdom of my Father,"* or, sometimes, *"the kingdom of the Son of man."* Jesus foresaw that it was to be by an evolutionary process that the movement was to lead up to the status, as is evident from the following parables:

> "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened."
>
> "So is the kingdom God as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise, night and day; and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself—first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear; but when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come."
>
> "Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God or with what comparison shall we compare it? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds which be in the earth, but when it is sown it groweth up and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches, so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it."

At this point we are told that "with many such parables spake he the word unto them, as they were able to hear it;" the inference being that these evolutionary teachings were perhaps a little beyond the comprehension of the hearers. Other sayings which suggest that Jesus foresaw a process consuming more or less time before the status called *"the kingdom of God"* should mature, are these:

> "Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her."
>
> "I am come to send fire on the earth. Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay, but rather division."
>
> "He added and spake a parable . . .
> because they thought the kingdom of God should immediately appear. He said, therefore, 'A certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return.'"

("Continuing with the parable of the talents, which implies a considerable space of time in which the ordinary affairs of life go on.)

> "And when he was demanded of the Pharisees when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said: 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.'"
>
> "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit."

IX. Economic Righteousness

Next in my study came a most weighty inquiry: What, in the mind of Jesus, is the *economic* nature of the world-wide status to which the movement begun by him was to lead? In other words, What kind of regime, as regards labor and the fruits of labor, did Jesus expect the *"kingdom of God"* to be?

I found a hint toward the answer to this question in the prayer which Jesus gave as a standard—this hint being conveyed in those two conjoined expressions: *"Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."* The *kingdom of God"* is, therefore, that coming time when the will of God shall be done everywhere on earth.

But what is the will of God as regards labor and the fruits of labor? Jesus tells us, *"I and my Father are one"*; hence, to learn the will of God on the subject we have but to study what in that respect was the mind of Jesus.

Before going far in this special study, I stumbled upon the fact that Jesus himself furnishes, in a remarkable saying of his, the precise answer to the primary question, What is the economic character of the *"kingdom of God"?* A thing can be defined by specifying its opposite, and it is in this form that Jesus gives the definition we are seeking. He names the master of the kingdom opposite to that of God, in this saying:

> "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

Manifestly, then, the industrial regime of the *"kingdom of God"* is the opposite of the regime of money-making; competition is the law of the kingdom of Mammon, co-operation is the law of the kingdom of God.

Recurring to the method of establishing what is the rule of the kingdom of God as regards labor and the fruits of labor, by finding out the mind of Jesus on that subject, I had no doubt as to what system of behavior he approves for men in all relations with each other—including of course, the economic relation—and no difficulty in finding it explicitly stated by him that the true system is that of mutual service. Take, for example, the following sayings:

> "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."
>
> "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister."
>
> "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet."

Consider also the extreme teaching conveyed in this parable:

> "Which of you, having a servant plowing or feeding cattle, will say unto him immediately when he is come from the field, 'Go and sit down to meat'? and will not rather say unto him, 'Make ready wherewith I may sup, and gird thyself, and serve me until I have eaten and drunken; and afterward thou shall eat and drink'? Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say, 'We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.'"

Here the individual is told that he is the bond-slave of humanity, and may not work for himself; may not even stop when he is tired, but must keep on so long as humanity has need of his toil: and that, when all is done, he is not entitled to any reward, since the rightful demand of humanity upon him is simply for all that he has the ability to do.

There is a parable which bears directly, and in the most striking manner, upon the question of labor and pay in the coming status, *"the kingdom of God."* It is the following:

> "For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire laborers into his vineyard; and when he had agreed with the laborers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard. And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the market place, and said unto them, 'Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you.' and they went their way. Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did likewise; and about the eleventh hour he went out and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?' They say unto him, 'Because no man hath hired us.' He saith unto them, 'Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive.'
>
> "So when even was come, the lord of the vineyard said unto his steward, 'Call the laborers and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first. And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny; but when the first came, they supposed that they should have received more; and they likewise received every man a penny; and when they had received it, they murmured against the goodman of the house, saying, 'These last have wrought but one hour, and thou has made them equal unto us, which have borne the heat and burden of the day.' But he answered one of them and said, 'Friend, I do thee no wrong, didst not thou agree with me for a penny? Take that thine is and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good?'"

This parable lays down the doctrine that there should be equal pay for all who do their best, whether that best be little or much, —a doctrine cognate with the Marxist formula of labor-value.

It now remains to quote a famous saying of Jesus which, in the light of the foregoing, ceases to be a promise of miraculous aid and becomes a common-sense proposition.

> "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things (food, drink, clothing) shall be added unto you."

That is to say—establish the regime of economic righteousness, which is co-operation, and you need never fear that you will lack the necessities of life.

(To be continued next issue)

God gives us always strength enough and sense enough for what he wants us to do, If we either tire ourselves or puzzle ourselves, it is our fault. And we may always be sure, whatever we are doing, that we cannot be pleasing him if we are not happy ourselves.—*Ruskin.*

One truth must grow ever clearer—the truth that there is an Inscrutable Existence everywhere manifested to which he (the man of science) can neither find nor conceive beginning or end. Amid the mysteries which become the more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty, that he is ever in presence of an Infinite and EternalE nergy, from which all things proceed.—*Herbert Spencer.*

Hon. A. B. White ventures to suggest to his fellow countrymen that their institutions might be improved if they would borrow "from Great Britain her administration of criminal justice, from Germany her theater, and from any or every European country, except Russia, Spain, and Turkey, its government of cities."

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

The "Spectator" of London speaking of the recent encyclical of the Pope which permits the Catholics of Italy to exercise their political rights as citizens of the state says that the Pope has been wisely advised. Some of the priests it says "have been forming secret alliances with the Socialists." It continues:

"Some of the oversubtle leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, who feel greatly the want of physical forces at their disposal, will seriously regret this encyclical. No doubt its leaders proclaim with great wisdom, and, of course, entire truth, that they can accept any form of government so long as it is sanctified by obedience to the Church and allows perfect freedom to the successors of St. Peter. But it can hardly be wise as yet to throw over the kings, or to arouse in the well-to-do a suspicion that at heart monks must always be in favor of collectivism. The papacy will certainly not regain temporal power by means of a popular rush, and it is hard to see how a party which in France may almost be considered anti-Christian, which in Italy is simply irreligious, and which in Spain is clamoring for the secularization of all the church property, can be an available instrument for that triumph of the faith which the leaders of the Church, even when most absorbed in temporal matters, never, entirely forget to be the *raison d'etre* of their organization."—THE LITERARY DIGEST.

This may be only another proof of the far-sightedness and ability to come out on top that the Roman Catholic hierarchy has always displayed. Socialism is the coming world power. Religion will still exist and who so likely to fore-see this and to plan their organization so that it will still live as those minds who, in line with their predecessors, have guided their organization for nineteen hundred years. But they are up against a difficult proposition, for the religion of the future is sure to be modified in accordance with the greater freedom and knowledge of the race.

Socalistic ideas are certainly penetrating everywhere. The "New Voice" of Chicago the National Organ of the Prohibition party says in an editorial in which it elaborates on an article in the "Nineteenth Century." "Two continents are now being convulsed in efforts to establish the principle that a man is entitled to the natural fruits of his own labor. The idea is making mighty progress throughout the world. The spectacle of a fraction of the world living in luxurious and vicious idleness, whether they be tramps or dukes, while another section of man-kind is weary with labor and want, is not edifying. Whatever be the causes which compel one part of the world to live in squalor and hunger that another part may live in overfed splendor, the contemplation of the fact is not pleasing and not conducive to contentment. We have no desire to administer any "dope" to make such things pleasing.

We do not believe God designed that that any man should deliver over the products of his labor to some obese lord that he may purchase gout, or to some pallid bespangled idle countess with cotton in her ears, deaf to the heart throbs of her neighbors.

The Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey has struck a blow at the Union Label law. The court declared that the Legislature had no power to enact a law exacting a penalty for the benefit of the plaintiff, the Cigarmakers' Union.

The fight will now be transferred to the State Supreme Court, and if the latest decision is upheld the union label law of New Jersey—after which the label laws in many other states are modeled—will be practically killed, for after the section providing penalties is emasculated the statute is useless.

So it goes, one by one all the old weapons of organized labor are becoming obsolete. If any other class but the working class had received such severe blows they would long ago have resorted to different methods even to armed revolt. But ages of oppression and ignorance are behind the present working class and hinder their reasoning power. We must have patience. Experience is a hard schoolmaster but a good one.

The present outcry in some of our Socialist papers against Public ownership of public utilities "as a sop thrown to the workmen to keep them quiet" is one calculated to puzzle the average citizen ignorant of Socialism and to furnish rare clippings to the capitalistic press. The Social-Democratic Herald says:

"The Social-Democratic parties all over the world are the foremost champions of public ownership of public utilities. And the Socialist parties we had in this country in the past—until recently—advocated and agitated for the same kind of demands. In fact, the Socialists are the originators—if we can speak of originating such demands. And if now some capitalist party should be compelled against its will to carry out this policy—and do so in a half-hearted, unwilling manner—this will be due simply to the narrow bigotry and the utter lack of practical capacity in the American Socialist movement."

A far better way would be to say of these Socialistic planks in Capitalistic platforms, that they are Socialistic and forced into favor by our party growth and education. If we only wait patiently a little while we may point to the fact that no matter how fair the promise, fulfillment never follows.

To a poor, ignorant, middleclass Socialist the sight of Berger and Hayes crossing swords with Debs and Trautman over rival labor organizations is not very hilarious, and yet we need not worry.

The autonomus nature of our National organization was the provision made for just this state of affairs. It is true that some of the states, notably New Jersey, have by their formulated constitutions and enactments completely nullified this principle within their borders. But the principle holds nationally to such an extent that whatever individual disagreements may come between members or in particular localities the national movement will go on unaffected.

Attorney General Wade H. Ellis of Ohio, in a speech before the Foraker club of Youngstown spoke strongly for the policy of controlling the large industrial combinations. To him it was an easy thing and a right and proper thing to do. He warned his hearers that "beyond concentration lay socialism," that "behind neglect of government control was government ownership" "and over against destruction of individualism was the evil of communism." He might at least have told us what effort the Attorney Generals official force had made in that direction.

The bill reducing the term of compulsory military service from three years to two has been passed by both houses of the French Parliament and become a law. This measure was heartily supported by the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies. The bill also abolishes the privilege by which rich men could get off with one year's service by paying a certain amount of money.

Since the union of the three French Socialist parties a great enthusiasm has arisen. The example of German solidarity has proven a spur and frequent predictions of speedily rivalling their enormous vote make the rounds of the French press. The capitalistic politicians are wondering what they are up against and are deeply chagrined at the harmony restored among the Socialists, as they feel that they will be compelled to face a terrific fight from now on.

I commented some time ago on the gradual transformation of the "Labor" party in Australia into a real class-conscious revolutionary Socialist party. That is the natural method for the creation of a Socialist party and would undoubtedly have been the case here in America if working men had ever used their ballots in their own behalf. We see the same natural tendency in England and the time will soon come when a true revolutionary Socialist party will fling its banner to the winds. Meanwhile our English brethren in the Labor and Socialist movement keep right on making gains in local elections, just as though they didn't care what the American pure and simplers, so-called, thought about them. In Watford they elected another worker to the council; in Edmonton, four; in Farnworth, two; in Willesden, all three, and in Horwich two. In national matters, according to exchanges, the campaign in the various districts is becoming hotter every week. The old capitalistic politicians are all at sea in making predictions regarding the outcome.

The Countess of Warwick now announces that she has at last succeeded in converting her husband, the Earl of Warwick, to Socialism. They will speak for Socialism from their red automobile. The Earl is a member of the House of Lords, and, like most English aristocrats, has paid little attention to Social questions.

Vienna papers report that the Socialists have won hard but splendid victories in the municipal elections of Atzgersdorf, Floridsorf, Gmuend, Hainburg, Hainfeld, Leobersdorf, Stockerau and Traismauer. All the forces of reaction, religious and industrial as well as political, were combined against the Socialists, and in many instances the latter had to fight their way into the polls and out again.

Complete returns from the recent second ballots in Holland show that the Socialists have elected seven members, among them Troelstra and Von Kol, to Parliament. This is a gain of three men. But the best of all is that the socialist vote has grown as follows: In 1897, 13,035; in 1901, 38,279; at the last elections, 67,743. Still another encouraging feature is that the Conservative-Clerical Combine, headed by Dr. Kuyper, has been overthrown and the Socialists hold the balance of power in Parliament. The Dutch are grabbing Holland, sure enough.

In Berlin, the Socialist metropolis of Germany, it is hard to get sufficient workingmen to do honor to the ruling house of Hohenzollern. Prominent lords of industries had to offer the inducement of a full day's pay and five extra marks to get workingmen who were willing to stand in parading line to welcome the new crown princess at the recent wedding that was so much talked about in the plate press. Thus patriotism to the ruling dynasty has to be hired for money and is unobtainable for love in the vest heart, the capital of the German empire.

Its hardly worth while to say a word regarding that clown in the capitalistic circus, Thomas W. Lawson. Picturesque, amusing and a bravo he takes the lime light very naturally. His great remedy, out at last is to "break Rockefeller by making him take back all the securities in the market." "When I give the word. sell." "Rockefeller must take them and go into bankruptcy." We really are ignorant. There must be something we don't know about, some lack of visuality in us. Rockefeller is known to buy chiefly for investment and always tries to control any properties he buys stock in. Selling to any large amounts would undoubtedly force down the price but Rockefeller would waste his money should he buy one share beyond a majority or control. Having control would he not make his properties just as profitable as they have been in the past. Would they not be just as well managed whether the price be low or high. The whole question hinges upon the fact whether Rockefeller has borrowed money upon his stock to such an extent that a lowering of the price would compel his creditors to sell him out under the rule, which is an inconceivable thing. We are afraid that it will take more than a Lawson to demolish the "System."

I have been taken to task for the religious views expressed in these columns. and my correspondent took it for granted that the dark ages were due to Christianity which is curious reasoning, The church, bought by gifts and favors was corrupt, but we have a Socialistic way of blaming the triber more than the tribed. But I really do not claim to have more than a general knowledge. My correspondent has not that, else he would know that the reaction, the protest arose whereas men had a chance to read the Bible and to find out what was in it. Don't forget that it was religious freedom that was first fought for and that the teaching that God was father of all and that He made of one blood all the children of earth, the great leveling democratic doctrine. I have not studied religious history as a divinity student, but take the opinion of men who have studied all history regarding the division of the church I am a member of, the Presbyterians, one of the Calvinistic sects. Now Calvinism was one of the first modern vehicles for the propagation of democratic ideas. Says Bancroft "Calvinism was revolutionary; it taught as a Divine revelation the natural equality of man." "It is the essential tendency of Calvinism," says Doyle, "to destroy all distinctions of rank and all claims to superiority, which rests on wealth or political expediency." "Calvinism is essentially democratic," says Buckle. "A democratic religion," it is called by De Tocqueville. "Calvinism opposes hereditary monarchy, autocracy and bondage," said Bancroft. John Richard Green writes, "In that mighty elevation of the masses embodied in the Calvinist doctrine lay the germs of the modern principles of human equality." "Calvinism," says Froude, "has inspired and maintained the bravest efforts ever made to break the yoke of unjust authority."

Just as Jesus was really put to death because his teachings threatened the class supremacy of his time, so we can look back at the sufferings and trials of Scotch Presbyterians, French Huguenots, Dutch reformers and English nonconformists and say that it was because they were teaching democracy that they suffered. We ought to be as equally ready to give credit as to apportion blame.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY

Published by THE CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY,
134 North Vermilion Street, Danville, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, 50 CENTS PER YEAR

ENTERED AT THE POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER

EDITORS:

EDWARD ELLIS CARR, - - - Danville, Illinois
OSCAR F. DONALDSON, - - - Webster City, Iowa

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE, - - Boston, Massachusetts
PAUL H. CASTLE, - - - Central Park, Montana
J. STITT WILSON, - - - - Berkeley, California
EDWARD ADAMS CANTRELL, - - - Rock Rapids, Iowa
W. B. GALLAHER, - - - Danville, Illinois
WILLIAM R. BENNETT, - - - Marion, Indiana
CARL D. THOMPSON, - - - Minneapolis, Minnesota
WINFIELD R. GAYLORD, - - Milwaukee, Wisconsin
GEORGE E. LITTLEFIELD, - Westwood, Massachusetts

The explanation (or apology) for putting the Labor Day poem across the bottom of the pages is that we had the plate for the Free Citizen and it is too good to leave out of the Christian Socialist even if it does not fit our columns.

Editor Carr having been absent from the office for several weeks on account of Chautauqua work, the editorial correspondence is much behind. Have patience.

We have received a number of orders for the paper edition of the Captive City and, as we have not yet received the books from England, we wrote to the donor. He writes that he forgot to tell us that they were not to come out until September, as Mr. Heath wrote him when the books were ordered. We trust those who have sent in their money will excuse the delay, as we had understood the books were to be shipped at once. We have all the orders on file and will send them out as soon as the books arrive.

IDEAL SOCIALISM

BY W. B. GALLAHER

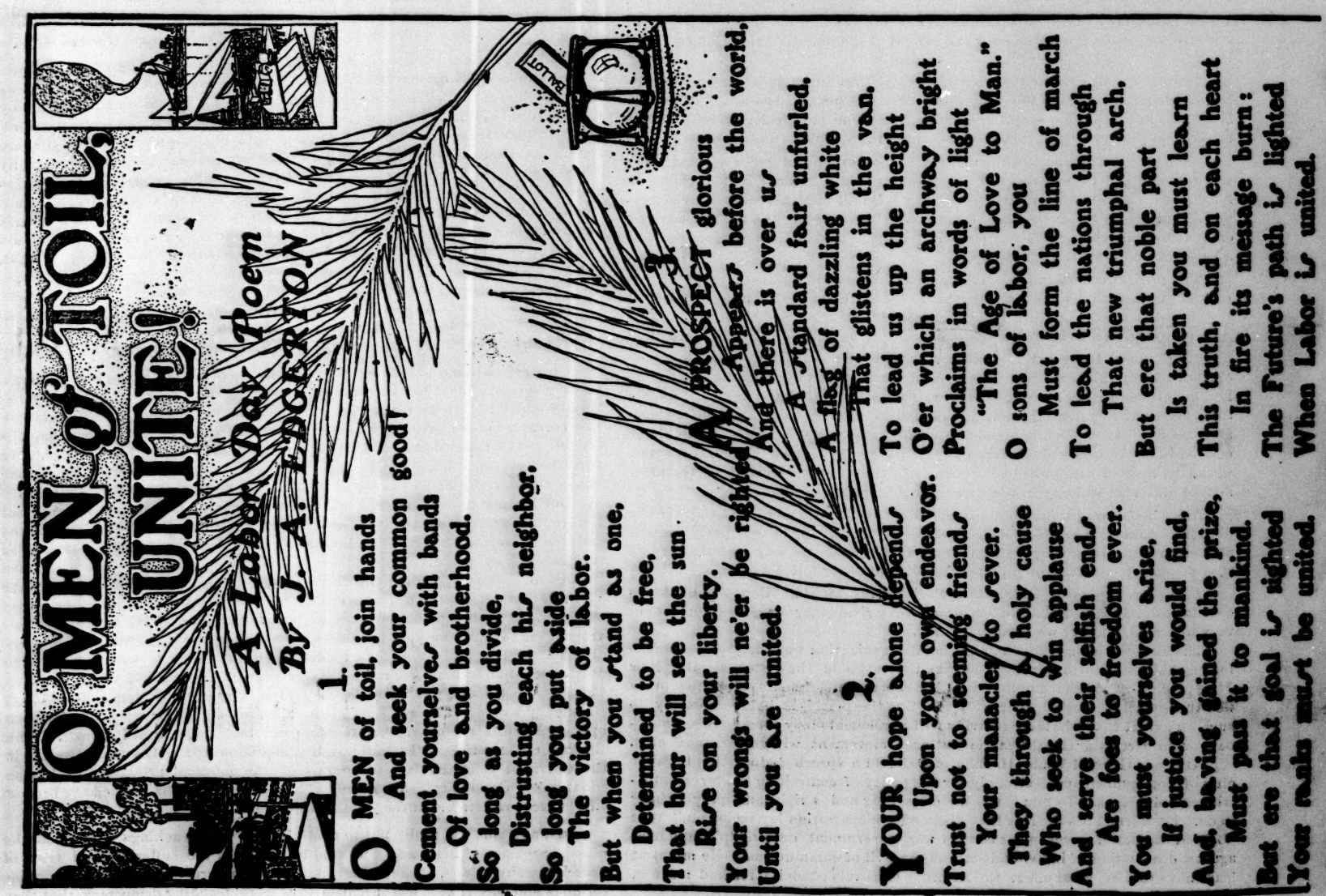
When will Socialism come? I do not know, nor does any man know. But I know that it must come. It may come, in this country, inside a dozen years. This is possible. It may not come here in this generation, or for several generations. But come it must as a necessary and irresistible evolution of the divine in the human.

That I may not be disappointed and discouraged if it comes not speedily and within my lifetime in the flesh, I will fix no time for its coming, but will work on with all my heart to bring it, knowing that whether it come early or late it will come all the sooner the harder we work to bring it, and knowing that the harder we work to bring it, the more is it ours in the joy and glory of the working present; ours, born of the travail of our innermost being, pressed to ideal delivery by the needless, hideous, God-mocking cares, tyrannies and burdens belonging to the Capitalistic present.

To the ideal socialism which we now labor to make actual, we each necessarily give tone, light color, form, proportions, power, grace and beauty, springing from the innermost depths of our own particular and individual being, each making his ideal socialism the largest, freest, broadest, deepest and highest expression of his own present individuality. This he never can do again when socialism is no longer an ideal, plastic to purely individual moulding and coloring, but has become an established fact; any more than the boy can realize again the power, joy and beauty of his boyish ideal of manhood, after he has once attained that state. Yet the powers, delights and glories of manhood are, after all, far beyond the measure of the most delightful and sublime ideal of them possible to the brightest and most cultured boy. In the boy's ideal, manhood has much of liberty, power, glory and happiness, but little or nothing of mighty cares, burdens and anxieties and of great unhappiness, as manhood has too often and too generally in fact.

So, doubtless, our individual conceptions of socialism as an ideal, will be far surpassed by the actual power, glory and blessedness of socialism as a realized fact; while its moral cares, burdens and difficulties will be found not to have had anything like their true measure in the wondrous beauty and gladness of our grand ideal.

Yet as the boy finds in actual manhood, and in manhood only, the highest and grandest possibilities of his being, so we shall find in actual socialism, and in it only, the highest and best possibilities of universal humanity.


O MEN of TOIL, UNITE!
A Labor Day Poem
By J. A. DORRYON
1.
O MEN of toil, join hands
And seek your common good!
Cement yourselves with bands
Of love and brotherhood.
So long as you divide,
Distrusting each his neighbor,
So long you put aside
The victory of labor.
But when you stand as one,
Determined to be free,
That hour will see the sun
Rise on your liberty.
Your wrongs will ne'er be righted
Until you are united.
2.
YOUR hope alone depends
Upon your own endeavor.
Trust not to seeming friends
Your manacles to sever.
They through a holy cause
Who seek to win applause
And serve their selfish ends
Are foes to freedom ever.
You must yourselves arise,
If justice you would find,
And, having gained the prize,
Must pass it to mankind.
But ere that goal is sighted
Your ranks must be united.
3.
A PROSPECT glorious
Appears before the world,
And there is over us
A standard fair unfurled.
A flag of dazzling white
That glistens in the van.
To lead us up the height
O'er which an archway bright
Proclaims in words of light
"The Age of Love to Man."
O sons of labor, you
Must form the line of march
To lead the nations through
That new triumphal arch.
But ere that noble part
Is taken you must learn
This truth, and on each heart
In fire its message burn:
The Future's path is lighted
When Labor is united.

TRUE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN EUROPE

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS

I.

IN Zurich, Switzerland, there are two Protestant ministers holding prominent and active pastorates, who are Socialists—Socialists of the working-class type, thorough-going and ardent. One of them the Rev. Herman Kutter, has written a very striking little book which bears the title "They Must." In this work, like a new Martin Luther, he throws down a challenge to the modern Christian world. The thesis he maintains is that the mammonized Christian church of today is quite out of line with the prophets and with Jesus, and that the Socialist movement, the Social democracy, is essentially in line with them. The book is brilliantly written, and has attracted great notice in Europe, the fourth thousand having been printed. Before long we hope to give our readers a taste of this work, which is now being translated into English and we trust will be published in this country.

The other of these pastors is the Rev. Paul Pflueger, who has published a series of pamphlets under such suggestive titles as—

"What Christianity originally was, and what has been made out of it."

"Church and Proletariat."

"The Socialism of the Hebrew Prophets,"

"Heaven on Earth."

His most striking work, however, is a little "Catechism for the Children of the People," published last year, and of which we give a translation below.

In France there is an outspoken Socialist movement among the Protestants. It has two organs, the more prominent being "L'Avant Garde" (the Vanguard), the principal editor of which is Rev. Wilfred Monod of Rouen. This paper represents religiously the ordinary type of Protestantism, and politically, Socialism of various shades. The other organ is "La Cloche d' Alarme" (the Alarm Bell), the editor of which is our friend Professor Paul Passy, and this paper represents in religion a lay revivalist movement, and in politics, a strict political Socialism.

Some months since, Mr. Monod translated Pflueger's catechism into French and printed it in his paper, L'Avant Garde. He preceded it by an introduction, which we have translated and give below.

II.

MONOD'S INTRODUCTION OF PFLUEGER'S CATECHISM IN "L'AVANT GARDE."

A clergyman at Zurich, Rev. Paul Pflueger, has published a leaflet which I am happy to translate for the readers of the "Avant Garde." I print this remarkable document without extended comment since it speaks for itself plainly enough. Doubtless some of its assertions in matters of economics are open to discussion; for instance, is it exact to say that in the city of the future everyone will get the entire product of his work? No society appears to be possible without the community participating in profits from labor, or by whatever name you may call such margin, and under whatever form it may be produced. It might also be asked how far the Central State system is the true formula of the future; a system of federation of unions of workers, with its self regulated groupings and its elaboration of a new code, seems to adapt itself better to the complexities of life.

However, these are but trifles. What is of moment is the idea of the whole, the general tendency of the thought, which makes for its aim with the impetuosity of a torrent and the majesty of a river.

What is this aim? The conservative will say with a certain bitterness: it is Socialism! but allow me to reply: it is the Kingdom of Heaven!

This seems a startling paradox. However, it is seen to be true as soon as you admit the following explanation: The Kingdom of Heaven means merely in the language of the first evangelist, the Kingdom that comes from Heaven, in other words, the Kingdom of God, His Kingdom on earth—and in yet other words,—that social state of things which the social conscience demands.

Jesus did not actually pronounce a verdict on capitalists or wages (even as He did not speak of dogmas and sacraments); however, we are justified in applying to our economic system the fundamental principles promulgated in His teaching and illustrated by His life and death (even as we have applied them to our ecclesiastical system).

This leaflet is not simply a leaflet of revolutionary propaganda, neither simply of religious propaganda, but it is both one and the other. It is a messianic leaflet precisely because of its synthetic propaganda; that is to say, it is a sincere and courageous appeal on behalf of the unknown Christ, the Messiah.

Some time since, while visiting a museum in Philadelphia, U. S. A., I saw a label fastened against the wall of the staircase, reading as follows: "Where will you pass eternity?" Will you

(Continued on page sixth)

WHY wait you, brothers mine?
Your hour has come to birth.
A mission more divine
Was never known to earth.
'Tis yours to preach the word
Of freedom and of peace,
Of common good conferred
From out the world's increase
On all the toiling throng.
Go, bear that word along
By ballot, speech and song
Till war and bondage cease.
But tell them, when you give
These tidings glad to others,
To teach them how to live
And how to bless their brothers
That toil, to be requited.
Must first have been united.

4.

THE children yet unborn
Plead with you to be true.
Let not by them be worn
The chains that hackle you.
Go not with outstretched hand
And supplicating tone,
But all together stand
As equals and demand
That you shall have your own.
And as the truth victorious
Has risen through the past
So shall your cause be glorious
In triumph at the last.
For when you are united
Your wrongs shall all be righted.

5.

COPYRIGHT, 1900.
BY J. A. EDGERTON.

(Continued from page 5.)

allow me to think that the interrogatory of Pastor Pflueger is better adapted to the needs of the soul of the people in a Europe which has dechristianized itself? He desires to serve the cause of the Gospel in a special stratum; pardon him, for the love of Jesus, the form and the tone of certain assertions.

III.

A LITTLE CATECHISM FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE PEOPLE

BY PAUL PFLUEGER, PASTOR, OF ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

1. What are you, my dear child?
   A workingman's child.
2. What do you mean by that?
   My father works for wages, and is poor.
3. Why are workingmen poor?
   Because they get small wages, and so can only buy few things.
4. Why do the workingmen get small wages?
   Not because they work little, but because the employers want to make a large profit out of their work.
5. Does not the workingman get all he produces?
   No; the wages the workingman gets are only a part of the value of what he produces; the employer keeps the rest.
6. Where then do the possessions of the wealthy come from?
   Entirely from the work of the poor, who do not get what they have produced, which by right they ought to get.
7. Is it right that some should live in luxury, and others in want and misery?
   No; it is very unjust that many who work all their lives should be in want and misery, while others, even though they do nothing, have all that heart could wish for.
8. Can it be that enough things cannot be produced on the earth to provide all men with what they need?
   No, indeed. The earth year by year brings forth supplies in abundance; and man's labor heaps up far more than is needed.
9. Then why need it be that many suffer from want, while there is an abundance of the necessities of life?
   Because many men get only scanty pay, and so can buy only a small quantity of the things produced; and so, much is destroyed without being used, while many men suffer want.
10. Must this always be so?
    Oh, no! Want and misery do not need to be; they can be done away with.
11. Who will help the poor?
    The poor cannot look for relief from the rich; the workingmen and workingwomen must save themselves.
12. How can the workers help themselves?
    Each worker is powerless alone therefore the workers must unite in a great combination.
13. What good does it do the workers to form unions?
    United they can get higher wages, because the employers have to yield to their demands.
14. What is this uniting of the workers called?
    The uniting of the workers into labor unions and into a great working-class party is called the *Organization of the Workers.*
15. In what way can want and poverty be abolished?
    By accomplishing the following:
    That the entire people take as their property all machines, manufactories and waterpowers;
    That every worker receive the value of all that he produces;
    That the state or the city build houses and rent them to the workers at very low rates;
    That the state take the best of care of all the sick, the weak and the old;
    That enough vacation colonies be established by the state to give each child a vacation every year in one of them;
    That armies and navies be abolished, and war cease.
16. What is the name by which those workers call themselves whose determination it is to abolish poverty and to bring in a fairer life for those who are now oppressed and made poor?
    These brave workingmen and workingwomen, who are often persecuted and hated by the oppressors and the moneyed, are called *Socialists*,—that is to say, social-minded people, or comrades; and the better system for which they strive is called *Socialism*, or, the social rule.
17. What did Jesus call the social rule which is to come here on the earth?
    Jesus named it the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven.
18. What does Jesus mean by the Kingdom of Heaven?
    Jesus means, by the Kingdom of Heaven, a community of men, a kingdom of brothers, here on earth, where peace and justice, love and happiness rule, where life means joy for all, where no one will be poor or forsaken, oppressed or despised.
19. To whom does Jesus promise the Kingdom of Heaven?
    Jesus promises the Kingdom of Heaven on earth to the poor. He says expressly: *Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are ye that hunger, for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep, for ye shall laugh.* (Luke VI; 20-21.)
20. What did Jesus say to the rich, the capitalists?
    He said to them: *Woe unto you, ye rich, for ye have your consolation now! Woe unto you who are full, for ye shall hunger! Woe unto you that laugh, for ye shall weep and mourn!* (Luke VI; 24-25.)
21. What does Jesus say about capitalism?
    Ye cannot serve God and Mammon (Capitalism) (Matt. VI; 24.)
22. What does Jesus say about wages?
    A worker is worthy of his just pay. (Luke X; 7.)
23. What does Jesus say of the just relations between men?
    Jesus says: *Do to others as ye would that others should do to you.* (Matt. 7:12.)
24. What does Jesus say about oppressing the poor and living upon them?
    Jesus says: *Ye know that the princes of the nations lord it over them, and the great exploit them, but it shall not be so among you.* (Matthew XX; 25.)
25. What does Jesus say of the equal rights of all men? *Ye shall all be brothers!* (Matthew XXIII; 8.)
26. What does Jesus say of the theologues and bigots? *Woe unto you, theologues and Pharisees, hypocrites, ye close the kingdom of Heaven to men! Ye enter not yourselves, and ye forbid them to enter who would!* (Matthew XXIII; 13.)
27. What does Jesus say to the children? He invites the children into the social kingdom; he says: *Let the children come to me,—forbid them not, for their's is the kingdom of Heaven*
28. Will you accept this invitation? Yes, I will accept it, and become a true-hearted Socialist.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

Extracts from a sermon by Rev. Harvey D. Brown, Pastor 1st Baptist Church of Kenosha, Wis., reprinted from the Kenosha News.

In speaking of "The Social Gospel" at the Baptist church yesterday morning Dr. Brown said that the reason why more time was not given to meditation, prayer and study of spiritual things was that we are living in an age of great social demands, and that our characters are formed largely by forces outside of ourselves.

"The social gospel is that the man or woman who is rightly related to his fellow men, and spends his life energies in serving the race in its inspiring industries, associations, fellowships and devotions, may, if he will, find the plane of spiritual life and consciousness in these activities. Not only in prayer and meditation, but in life and action, men may find God and know him.

"The law for right social living is that of unselfishness and service. In order to find God in Social life a man must be active, energetic and faithful among men for the sake of serving the common life, satisfying its needs, ennobling its fellowships and destroying its evils. He must not work for cheap personal ends and ambitions, but for the finer gold of a life consciously at one with mankind and with God and feeling its own inner freedom and deathless worth.

"To use social opportunity for selfish ends is the great sin of our social life. The 'new varieties of sin,' which Prof. Ross mentions in a late 'Atlantic' are all of this order, and their final consequences both to the individual himself and to the race are vastly more deplorable than the result of the personal fall of an isolated individual could be.

"When we have the courage to do right in social relations of all kinds then will the common life of activity and labor and fellowship be a song of joy upon the lips of a race mounting upward to brotherhood and immortality."

"O brother man! Fold to thy heart thy brother.
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there:
To worship rightly is to love each other:
Each smile a hymn; each kindly deed a prayer.
Follow with reverend steps the great example
Of Him whose holy work was doing good;
So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude."

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

It is proposed that a Conference of those most interested in the "Christian Socialist Fellowship" be held sometime this fall or winter, to draft the purpose, requirements and organization of this movement. This draft to be submitted to the friends of Christian Socialism. Should it meet with sufficient endorsement to warrant further effort let a Committee (to be specified by the Conference) issue a call for a General Assembly at some convenient place. This Assembly may ratify, modify and perfect the organization. All questions, suggestions and discussions of this matter should be addressed to,

Mr. Oscar F. Donaldson, Webster City, Iowa.

As will be seen by the replies given below, the Fellowship move seems to be receiving ready and hearty welcome from many. The first organization at Goshen, Ky., by Mr. Rule, reported last week, together with the efforts of others in this direction shows a determination on the part of some to enjoy the comradeship, the effective work and the union which this Fellowship would afford. Whether it be done by a new organization or an old one, by methods proposed or to be proposed, by means of our agency or another, it seems to us that it will come. We want to further this Fellowship and will use the Christian Socialist to do this without regard to consequences as long as the aim is not lowered. We believe, however, that the Christian Socialist is the natural medium through which those desiring fellowship may express themselves best. If this is true and remains true, we shall have our share in this work.—O. F. D.

Columbus, Ind.

The Central Christian Church of this city has just closed a two weeks meeting conducted by our ex-State Sec. of the Socialist Party, Comrade Fred G. Strickland; and the church has extended to Comrade Strickland a call to the Pastorage of this congregation. I believe I can get a few interested in the Christian Socialist if I get a few copies.

Fraternally yours,

J. H. Arnold.

New Albany, Ind.

Dear Comrade Carr:

Comrade Lucien V. Rule handed me the last two issues of the Christian Socialist, the first I have seen, which were read with avidity. As a champion for the Fellowship movement, I see a bright future for the Christian Socialist. It enters the arena of life at an opportune time, and through the co-operation of the Christian Socialist Fellowship movement is destined to awaken the conscience of the sleeping millions from the drugged lethargy of sensual indulgence and inactivity, pressing on the tidal wave of evolution and bringing the race into a higher understanding of their true relation each for the other, which will manifest itself in the Co-operative Commonwealth, giving us the basis for a new life. We need not expect a manifestation of government higher than the social development of the people. When they become self-enlightened you may trust them to intelligently use the ballot.

Having had considerable experience in local work, I felt that the field was too narrow to accomplish all that should be, and as a result of consultations, held at my house with Comrade Wattles, Comrade Rule and Comrade Strickland, Comrade Rule and myself have initiated a Fellowship circuit, and find an eager, hungry people ready to receive the new-old message with a soul as well as a stomach. We held an all-day meeting Sunday Aug. 20, at the little Presbyterian church on the Ohio River, near Goshen, Ky., the good people were so much enthused that they had arranged for a basket dinner, and came with hearts full of love and baskets full of good things for the physical man. I preached in the morning and Comrade Rule in the afternoon. We had some of the most representative men (large land owners) of the community with us, and our message was given in such a way that, all present went away feeling that it was good to be there

By giving our message a soul and dealing kindly with all, we are able to reach and influence a larger number of people than otherwise;

The Fellowship work must spread rapidly, and with the Christian Socialist to lend courage and advice we may hasten the time when humanity shall blossom forth into the full flower of her manhood and womanhood.

Yours in the cause,

Frank Goodman.

"We started a move in a small way here to establish a Christian Fellowship in Cedar County from which we wish to work out, hoping to assist in organizing the district of north-eastern Nebraska. I am highly pleased with the Christian Socialist and hope to be able before long to place it in many homes. May the Lord especially bless the grand work that you are engaged in."

Dr. L. DeVore, Laurel, Neb.

"I am very much interested in the project suggested in your paper, to form an association of all Christian Socialists and trust it may be successful. I am very much pleased with the Christian Socialist and pray that God may abundantly bless your efforts for the cause of humanity."

Edwin F. Ludwig, Washington, D. C.

"The Christian Socialist Fellowship will be a good move toward our goal and I am with the comrades who advocate it. If the Fellowship is to have a meeting I wish it would be near Chicago, or in Chicago, so I can attend it. I believe we are strong enough here to get a club organized.

Jacob W. Born, Norwood Park, Chicago, Ill.

I would think the move for a "Brotherhood" all desirable, but is there not already a "Brotherhood of the Kingdom" that Dr. Gladden is Pres. of, and having quite a large membership? One strong one is better than several small and weak ones.

Fraternally and hopefully yours

S. H. Comings, Fairhope, Ala.

It is quite probable that in some such conference as Comrade Donaldson suggests all these Christian Socialist societies will come together. The Christian Socialist is their natural organ and standard bearer. We covet this service and honor.

—E. E. C.

Boston, Mass.

We, have an organization, "The Brotherhood of Daily Life" (Secretary Herbert C. Farwell, 11 Central St., Salem, Mass.) that is similar to this Christian Socialist Fellowship. I hope we can co-operate as time goes by.

J. E. How.

Waterloo, Iowa.

I like the name you suggest—"the Christian Socialist Fellowship"—it has a good ring. It is a name all humanity could rally around to do battle for the right. Let the call be made for an early date in Sept. 1905, at Indianapolis, Ind.

Yours in the work,

John C. Fullenwider.

Riverside, California.

I am sincerely anxious for your success and for the organization of some Fellowship as proposed. I would have it constituted for action, even political action; but not as a separate party; rather to give support to the Socialist Party, if they will show us proper courtesy as Christians—no more. The Anti-Saloon League illustrates a line for us.

(Rev.) W. H, Randall.

The Social-Democratic aldermen in the Milwaukee Common Council are still energetically fighting the heating plant franchise steal. They have worked hard to get the franchise submitted to a referendum vote of the people of Milwaukee, but this the council will not permit, well knowing that the deal would be lost if referred to the voters. The social-Democratic aldermen, however, will not give over the fight, and their nine votes will be duly recorded against the franchise.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST is the paper I have been looking for for several years. I am better pleased with it as each issue comes to hand, and I will be so glad when it becomes a weekly. Wm. Higginbottom, Creelsboro, Ky.

Comrade Rev. F. G. Strickland, late State Secretary of the Socialist party for Indiana, has accepted the call to the pastorate of the Central Christian Church of Columbus, Ind., and will begin work September 17.

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Aug. 18, 1905.

Dear Comrade:—

For fear of being misjudged, let me say to your readers that the statement that I am a wealthy man is not true; on the contrary, I have no other income than my earnings. If I were wealthy, the Christian Socialist would not have to wait long for that ample endowment it so nobly deserves.

Rufus W. Weeks.

THE BERGER CASE

The Vermilion County Executive Committee, at its meeting on Sunday, Aug. 13, upon the invitation of county secretary Ralph Korngold, passed the following resolutions.

The Vermilion County Executive Committee having taken notice of the evidence both for and against national committeeman Victor L. Berger, resolves,

That, leaving wholly undisputed whether comrade Berger has acted wisely or unwisely, he has broken no part of the National Constitution, this being sufficiently proven by the subsequent doption of a clause fitting comrade Berger's case by the National Executive Committee.

That his action was solely prompted by his zeal for the well-being of the Socialist party,

That, therefore, in the minds of unprejudiced individuals, there can exist no reason for the expulsion of Said Victor L. Berger, such action taking wholly the appearance of *Revenge* upon a brave, highminded and active comrade for the offense of *holding views different from our own.*

That the only action, if any, to be taken in the Wisconsin controversy, is to exact from Victor L. Berger the promise of respecting the National Constitution as it has been amended by the will of the majority *after Berger's so-called offense.*

The local instructs its secretary to give the widest publicity possible to the above resolution, and requests other local and branch organizations to take similar actiorf.

Signed: LUTHER ERICKSON, Chairman, Fairmount, Ill.
RALPH KORNGOLD, Secretary, Danville, Ill.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by Bellingham Local at a regular meeting of the Local held Sunday evening July 17, 1905.

"Be it resolved by Bellingham Local of the Socialist Party of the state of Washington:—That, while we believe the action of comrade Victor L. Berger as per his admitted editorial in the "Warheit" was unwise and not in keeping with the spirit of the unwritten law of the Socialist Party of the U. S., however much it may agree with the tactics of the party and comrades in Germany,—this local is opposed to the intolerant tendency as manifested by the action of the National Committee of the Party in the case of Comrade Berger and looks upon such actions as the prototypes of the heresy hunting, excommunicating actions of a dogmatic church, that would drive out of the party all freedom of thought and action, making the government of the party an Oligarchic Despotism subverting the spirit of Socialism."

By order of Bellingham Local S. P. of Washington.
Attest: Chas. S. Wallace, Secy.